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Fukuzawa Yukichi, Karl Marx, and the New American Cyclopaedia

Albert M. Craig

Tokyo, 2008: A university entrance examination is in progress. An intelligent and determined high school senior encounters the following question in the Japanese history section of the examination:

Who was the author of *Seiyō jijō*?
( ) Arai Hakuseki
( ) Fukuzawa Yukichi
( ) Karl Marx

The student, happily aware of the distinction between Arai's *Seiyō kibun* and Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō*, experiences a fleeting moment of self-satisfaction as she checks the correct answer and moves on. Several weeks later, the test results are posted: her ability rewarded, she enters the university of her choice.

Had the student given even a passing thought to the third option, she would have dismissed it out of hand as a poor attempt at humor. This is well and good. But is there not more to be said about the matter of authorship? The first volume (*shohen*) of *Seiyō jijō* is mostly composed of translations from English-language sources (what Fukuzawa called *gensho*); the second and third volumes (the *gaihen* and *nihen*), except for Fukuzawa's brief introductory remarks, are entirely composed of translations. If we inquire about authorship, must we not also include the men who wrote these English works? May they not legitimately be thought of as a second tier of authors? Without them, there would have been no *Seiyō*

jijō. Furthermore, is it remotely possible that Karl Marx was one of the authors of the *gensho* in Fukuzawa's possession? If, by any chance he was, then is it not also within the realm of possibility that Fukuzawa translated some passages that Marx wrote?

With the question of the second tier of authors in mind, this essay will examine the *New American Cyclopaedia*, a source that Fukuzawa used frequently. It will begin by examining the concatenation of events that led George Ripley and Charles Dana to produce the encyclopedia.

Dana and Ripley and the *Cyclopedia*

West Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1841: George Ripley (1802-1880) invites Charles Anderson Dana (1819-1897) to join Brook Farm, the transcendentalist commune that he had founded earlier in the year. Dana accepts.

George Ripley was born in 1802 into the family of a prosperous merchant in Greenfield, Massachusetts. He entered Harvard College in 1819. During his college years, the conservative Christianity of his youth was reshaped by the liberal transcendentalism that was then prevalent at the college, that is to say, the view that truth and beauty arise from man's inner nature, and that intuition provides man with a knowledge that transcends the experience of the senses. Ripley graduated as the "first scholar" in his college class of 1823 and from the Divinity School in 1826, and then served as pastor of Boston's Purchase Street Church for fourteen years. In 1836, he joined the Transcendental Club that had been founded by his cousin, Ralph Waldo Emerson. But where Emerson's transcendentalism was directed toward overcoming the limits of self, Ripley, because of his years as pastor in a poor district of Boston, became committed to Christian social reform. It was to live a more truly Christian life that Ripley resigned his ministry in 1841 and established Brook Farm.[1]

Charles Anderson Dana was born in 1819 in New Hampshire. His mother died when he was seven; his father failed in business and dispersed his children among relatives. As a youth, Dana worked for one uncle, and then another, as a clerk in a dry goods store. This gave him a practical bent that stayed with him throughout his life. While working, he studied on his own, learned Latin and

Greek, saved $200, and was able to enter Harvard College in 1839. At college, because he worked at odd jobs and was poor, he felt alienated from the majority of students who came from families with money, privilege, and power. Two years later he dropped out of the college: he had run out of money, and his eyesight had deteriorated. While at Harvard, he had been attracted to transcendentalism and had become acquainted with Ripley. Hence, his decision to accept Ripley's invitation.[2]

Brook Farm was located on 88 acres in a rural setting between a pine forest and a bend of the Charles River. The farm had cows, pigs, chickens, an orchard, and several acres planted in peas, beans, and corn. Its members, however, were mainly visionaries drawn from the elite of Boston. Nathanial Hawthorne was one such member. Members worked eight hours a day and received a dollar a day in compensation. Dana toiled in the orchard and organized the Griddle Cake Servitors; he waited on tables at mealtimes but read Greek between courses. A college preparatory school soon became the chief source of the commune's income. Dana taught courses in Greek and German. Handsome and dashing, dignified, with a small beard, he was not much older than some students, but his classes were more demanding than those of other teachers. His students called him "the Professor."[3]

Particularly important to the intellectual formation of Ripley and Dana was the conversion of Brook Farm to a socialist community. The unstructured idealism of transcendental philosophy gave way in 1844 to the detailed formulations of the French philosopher Charles Fourier. Brook Farm was made into a phalanstery, one of several established in the United States during this era. For Ripley, Fourierism was a "social gospel." Between 1845 and 1849 Ripley and Dana jointly edited the *Harbinger*, a magazine dedicated to spreading Fourier's ideas. Misfortune, however, dogged the commune. Despite the growing reputation of its preparatory school, Brook Farm suffered the financial ills common to utopian communities. In 1845, it was hit by a smallpox epidemic. In 1846, a new building, erected to fulfill Fourier's vision of communal living, burnt to the ground. Without funds to rebuild and start anew, the six-year-old experiment in communal living came to an end.

New York, 1846, Dana and Ripley join the New York Daily Tribune: The *New York Daily Tribune* was at the time the most influential liberal newspaper in the United States. Its founder and editor was Horace Greeley, who was sympathetic to the socialist ideas of Fourier. He supported Brook Farm, and during its short duration became acquainted with both Dana and Ripley. After its demise in 1846, Greeley hired Dana as a reporter at a salary of $5 a week. In February of the following year, recognizing Dana's intellectual and practical abilities, Greeley appointed him city editor and raised his salary to $10 a week, only $5 less than his own.[4]

Dana, however, was intellectually more attracted to the rising tide of revolution in Europe than to daily events in New York City. From his socialist perspective, he saw the 1848 upheaval in Europe as the beginning of a change that would usher in a new era in world history. Consequently, over Greeley's objections, he took a leave of absence from the *Tribune* and made arrangements to serve as a foreign correspondent for the *Tribune* and four other papers. He set sail for France with his wife and 15 month-old daughter, and arrived in Paris on June 23, in time to witness the workers' insurrections that overthrew the July Monarchy. He also traveled extensively in Prussia and other German states. As a Fourier socialist, he favored cooperation and class harmony, but his weekly dispatches were sympathetic to the workers' struggles. Dana returned to the *Tribune* in 1849 and was made its managing editor. In the same year George Ripley joined the *Tribune* as literary editor.

New York, 1857, Ripley and Dana begin work on the New American Cyclopaedia: Dana and Ripley differed in temperament. Ripley was intelligent and idealistic but perhaps less ambitious. During his 31-year career at the *Tribune* he applied his talents to the world of books, and long before his death in 1880, he had become a respected arbiter within New York literary society. Dana was brilliant and no less idealistic, but his idealism was tempered by a drive to get ahead and a powerful practicality. As editor of the *Tribune*, he opposed slavery and the secession of the southern states, and with the outbreak of the Civil War, he supported the new Republican Party, Lincoln, and Secretary of War Stanton. In 1862 Greeley fired Dana -- he had returned from political campaigning and

wanted to run the paper himself. Dana went to work as Stanton's liaison with General Ulysses S. Grant, and then, as undersecretary of war, he came in daily contact with Stanton and Lincoln. After the war, Dana became editor and part owner of another newspaper, the *Sun*. He tripled its circulation and made it into the leading New York newspaper.

During their time at Brook Farm Ripley and Dana had cooperated closely; they had jointly edited the *Harbinger*, and they had later worked together at the *Tribune*. These shared experiences led to their decision to work together on an encyclopedia, in addition to their duties at the *Tribune*. Their goal in editing the *Cyclopaedia* is suggested by the following advertisement, which appeared shortly after its publication:

> The design of the New American Cyclopaedia is to furnish the great body of intelligent readers in this country with a popular Dictionary of General Knowledge...
> The New American Cyclopaedia is not founded on any European model; in its plan and elaboration it is strictly original and strictly American...
> Abstaining from all doctrinal discussions, from all sectional and sectarian arguments, it will maintain the position of absolute impartiality on the great controversial questions which have divided opinion in every age.[5]

The New York publisher D. Appleton and Co. supported all aspects of the new enterprise and published the encyclopedia, one volume at a time, on a subscription basis for $3.50 a volume. The 16-volume work was enormously successful: the two editors earned a total of $150,000, making them economically independent for the rest of their lives.[6]

Fukuzawa Yukichi and the *Cyclopaedia*

Edo, 1867: Fukuzawa Yukichi returns from the United States to Japan: his luggage is impounded at Yokohama and several weeks later he is placed under house arrest.

Fukuzawa arrived back in Japan on 1867/6/26 from his third, and last, trip

abroad. His arrest a few weeks later was a consequence of charges brought against him by the two leaders of the mission. The specific charges and Fukuzawa's response to them are a matter of record.[7] But there are multiple interpretations of what actually happened during the mission. These interpretations arise, in part, because of the gap between what Fukuzawa wrote in his appeal for reinstatement and his letters in 1867 and what he wrote in his autobiography three decades later.

In his autobiography, he blamed himself for his predicament.

> Originally, I had begged Ono Tomogorō [the leader of the mission], saying 'I want to go to America, I want to go to America.' Receiving his trust, I became a member of the mission. Consequently, I was obligated to obey his commands in every matter and to act as he saw fit. However, in fact, I did not do so. From the start to the end, I not only acted contrary to his wishes, but at times clearly disobeyed his orders.[8]

In addition, while drinking with a fellow interpreter in his shipboard cabin, Fukuzawa had denounced the bakufu as corrupt and called for its overthrow. His words, he wrote, had surely been overheard and reported to the mission's leaders.

The documents of 1867 tell a slightly different story. First, despite Fukuzawa's awareness of the bakufu's shortcomings, he still regarded it as Japan's best hope, and, far from calling for its overthrow, remained a staunch supporter. When he was finally reinstated on 1867/10/27, he resumed his duties as translator at the bakufu's foreign ministry (Gaikokugata). He did not use his arrest as an excuse to distance himself from the bakufu. Only after the Restoration did he leave its service. Second, he despised Ono. In his petition for reinstatement, he wrote scathingly of Ono as a person who was "ignorant of conditions" (*jijō ni kuraku*) and "drank himself almost senseless" (*shinzui hotondo jinji bushō to iu hodo no shimatsu nite*) in his cabin aboard the ship.[9] In a letter to his old friend and former schoolmate Yamaguchi Ryōzō, he wrote more simply that "they [the leaders of the mission] have their position and I have mine."[10]

In the same letter he also informed Yamaguchi: "At their behest, my baggage was impounded when we returned in the sixth month. How unreasonable! To arbitrarily seize the personal property (*eigentum*) without even informing the

owner is an outrage that should not be permitted in Japan."[11] Fukuzawa's "eigentum" consisted for the most part of the many boxes of books that he had purchased in New York for the Sendai domain and for his own school. Impounded at Yokohama, the luggage was not returned to Fukuzawa until early in the following year. Among the impounded books were the 16 volumes of the *New American Cyclopaedia* which Fukuzawa had bought earlier that year at the D. Appleton and Co. bookstore in New York City.

Tokyo, 1869-70: the *Seiyō jijō* and the *Cyclopaedia*: Fukuzawa works in his study on the third volume (*Nihen*) of *Seiyō jijō*.[12] By his desk is a complete set of the *New American Cyclopaedia*.

The two-year period following the Meiji Restoration was the busiest in Fukuzawa's life. He had resolved to forego government office and make his living by translating original English works (*gensho*) into Japanese. He also was headmaster and teacher at the school he had begun years earlier. His publications during these two years were so numerous that he must have worked at breakneck speed, and we know from his own comments that this was in fact the case.

Fukuzawa's first use of the *Cyclopaedia* had been in 1867-1868, when he wrote the Supplementary Volume of *Conditions in the West* (*Seiyō jijō gaihen*). He translated and abbreviated passages from the *Cyclopaedia* entries on James Watt, George Stephenson, Patents, and Copyrights, and interpolated them into his text. Each passage came from a single entry. His sketch of James Watt, the inventor of the steam engine, came entirely from the "Watt" entry; the passage on Stephenson came from the "Stephenson" entry, and so on.[13]

By 1869, however, Fukuzawa had become more adept, and he used the *Cyclopaedia* with far greater flexibility. At times he plucked out a single bit of information. For example, Fukuzawa's main English-language text for French history described the efforts of John Law, a Scottish financier, to aid the straitened finances of Louis XV by selling stock representing the natural resources of the Louisiana Territory. After Law's scheme collapsed in 1720, the scheme became known as the "Mississippi Bubble." Fukuzawa's text stated, without providing any evidence, that Law made no profit from his scheme. To substantiate the point, Fukuzawa turned to the "John Law" entry in the Cyclopaedia and inserted into

his narrative the information that the ill-fated Scot had entered France with $500,000 but left with only 8000 louis d'or.[14]

At other times Fukuzawa borrowed a passage from the *Cyclopaedia* to make his text more complete or more colorful. His primary text for the earliest period of Russian history, *Lippincott's Gazetteer*, paid little attention to the rise of Mongol power. It mentioned the death of Vladimir in 1015, the two centuries of internal wars that followed, and then stated simply:

> The Tartars, who, under Jenghis Khan, had overrun and overthrown many dynasties of Asia, appeared under his son Tooshi on the S. E. frontiers of Russia... [and] gained a signal victory over the combined Russian princes. The sudden death of Tooshi prevented the Tartars from completing their conquest until 1236, when they returned headed by Batoo... [who] wasted the country with fire and sword, and brought it completely under their yoke.[15]

Fukuzawa was aware that his readers would appreciate a fuller account of the Asian conqueror who had extended Mongol power to the eastern reaches of Europe. So he turned to the following passage from the Genghis Khan entry[16] in the *Cyclopaedia*:

> GENGHIS (or ZINGIS) KHAN, an Asiatic conqueror, born about 1160, died in Aug. 1227. His father was the chief of a horde, consisting of numerous families or clans, and tributary to the Khan of eastern Tartary. When born, the child had his hand full of blood ; and pleased by the interpretation of this sign as a prediction of conquest and glory, the father procured for Genghis, or, as he was then called, Temudjin, an able teacher, who soon developed in him a talent for government and war. Temudjin was only in his 14th year when he succeeded his father, and after some reverses he made himself master of the neighboring tribes, 70 of whose chiefs are said to have been thrown into kettles of boiling water at his command.

In the translation,[17] Fukuzawa omitted some details and added, from yet another source, the extent of Genghis' conquests:

> この時に当(あたり)て亜細亜洲(あじや)の蒙古(もうこ)にゼンジスカンなる者あり。元と一小種族の酋長なりしが、幼にして胆略あり。歳十四、父の位を嗣ぎ、近傍の諸蛮を攻てこれを滅し、酋長七十人を煮殺し、これより次第に強盛の勢を致して四方に遠征し、殆んど亜細亜の一大洲を幷呑し、東西七千里、南北三千五百里の地を、一政府の下に領せり。千二百二十七年ゼンジスカン死し、...

Occasionally, Fukuzawa used a longer passage from the *Cyclopaedia*. His account of Russian history after the defeat of Napoleon is drawn from the section on Russian history in the *Cyclopaedia* entry on "Russia."[18]

> In the congresses of Vienna in 1815 and Aix la Chapelle in 1818, which reorganized the political relations of the European states, the influence of Russia was paramount; and in the contest which soon sprung up throughout Europe between the liberal and democratic tendencies of the age and the hereditary rights of the princes, Russia was regarded as the chief support of the latter. At the same time Alexander was eagerly intent on promoting the civilization of his empire and developing its immense resources. Thousands of German colonists, after 1817, peopled the wastes of Bessarabia and the Caucasian countries, the system of public instruction was greatly improved, religious reforms were encouraged, and serfdom had been abolished in Courland and Livonia in 1809. The death of Alexander, Dec. 1, 1825, accelerated the outbreak of a conspiracy which had wide ramifications throughout Russia, and especially in the army. But the brother and successor of Alexander, Nicholas I. (1825－'55), put it down with great energy, and the leaders of the conspiracy were either put to death or exiled to Siberia. A war, commenced by Persia immediately on receiving the intelligence of the death of Alexander, was victoriously terminated by Paskevitch; and by the peace of Turkmantchai, Feb. 22, 1828, Russia gained the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, 80,000,000 rubles as indemnification, and the

exclusive control of the Caspian sea. A war against Turkey commenced in 1828 was equally successful, the Turks being obliged to cede in the peace of Adriauople (Sept. 14, 1829) several fortresses on the frontier and the mouths of the Danube, and to pay a considerable sum as indemnity. The heroic efforts of the Polish nation in 1830-'31 to recover its independence at length succumbed to the overwhelming power of the czar, who by a ukase of 1832 (declared the kingdom of Poland a Russian province without diet and without its own army, and openly announced his intention gradually to transform the Poles into Russians. The same plan was pursued with regard to the numerous other tribes and nationalities of the empire, and no means was therefore left untried to extend the dominion of the Russian language and of the Russian church.

Apart from a few cuts, Fukuzawa's account of the same period of Russian history in the *Seiyō jijō nihen* is virtually identical.[19]

同年［1815］欧羅巴諸国の使節キンナに会し、千八百十八年にはアキスラシャペルに同盟して各国互に和約を結び、魯西亜の威名特に赫々たり。〇此時に当て欧羅巴諸邦に、衆庶会議の政論を主張する者と、君主特権の説に左袒する者と、議論相分れ、魯西亜帝は固より特権の説を執て動かざれども、亦国内の開化を懈(おこた)らず、専ら富強の術を施し、宗旨を改革し、下民の教育を励まし、風俗次第に敦く、人口日に繁殖し、日耳曼より家を移して住する者も千を以て計ふと云ふ。千八百二十五年アレキサンドル死し、其弟、位に即く。これを第一世ニコラースとす。これより先き陸軍の兵士に不平を抱くもの多く、国中一般既に反乱の萌(きざ)しありしが、国喪に乗じて事を発したれども、新帝の勇力、直にこれを制圧し、其首魁を捕へて或は殺し或は流し、事速に平定せり。ペルシャの政府も魯君の死を聞て叛きしを以て、将軍バスケウヰッチを遣り、伐てこれに勝ち、裏海近傍の地を取り、八千万「ルーブル」の償金を促して其罪を免せり。一「ルーブル」は三十八匁二分五厘に当る 千八百二十八年土耳古を攻て亦これに勝ち、翌年和を講じてダニウブ河畔の数城を取り、巨万の償金を出さしめり。千八百三十年ポーランドの人、兵を挙て其国の独立を恢復せんとした

れども、魯帝の威力に勝たず。千八百三十二年魯西亜の政府にて法令を下だし、以後ポーランドは魯国内諸州の列に加へ、其議事員を廃し其兵備を止め、其人民をして次第に魯国の風俗に化せしむ可しとの旨を布告せり。此他数十百年の間、魯西亜に幷呑したる土地、甚だ広くして、其人民の風俗各処に相異なるを以て、これを一致せしめんが為め、近来は頻に魯西亜の国語を弘め、寺院を建立して人を教化せり。

Similiarly, in writing on early seventeenth-century France, Fukuzawa found the following *Cyclopaedia* entry on Cardinal Richelieu ("Richelieu, Armand Jean Duplessis") to be clearer and more comprehensive than that in his primary text.[20]

> No sooner had the cardinal thus taken possession of power under a king unable to govern by himself, than he entered upon the policy which has secured for him a place among the greatest statesmen in modern history. This policy may be summed up in three principal designs combined for the consolidation of the monarchy and the greatness of France: 1, the consummation of the work of Louis XI. by the extinction of the last remains of feudalism, and the full subjection of the high nobility to the royal power; 2, the subjugation of Protestantism in France, where it had assumed a character as much political as religious, threatening to create a state within the state; 3, the abasement of the house of Austria, by crushing its ambition for universal domination, and consequently the elevation of the power of France abroad on the ruins of her formidable rival.

Fukuzawa's translation of this passage has so many points of similarity with the *Cyclopaedia* entry that we can say with a high degree of certainty that it is the source.

ロイス王も亦天資暗弱にして国事に堪へず、専ら宰相に委任して、内外の事務、一切万機、リセリウの裁断を仰がざるものなし。其在職の間に施行したる政治策略の目的を見るに、之を三箇条に分つ可

し。即ち第十一世ロイスの遺業を継ぎ、封建世禄の余風を除て貴族を圧倒し、国力を王室に集めんとすること第一の目的なり。又当時「プロテスタント」新教、即ち「ヒューゴノット」なり。の宗徒、再び盛大を致して、恰も一政府の体裁を成し、王命に従はざる者あるが故に、其勢を殺(そ)がんとすること、第二の目的なり。又日耳曼の帝位に昇る者は、墺地利(おーすとりや)の家に限り、其権威漸く増大して諸邦を幷呑せんとするの勢あれば、其勢を制して仏蘭西の国威を燿かさんとすること、第三の目的なり。

Lastly, to describe the early career of Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 1808-1873), who became king of France in 1852, Fukuzawa drew on the following *Cyclopaedia* entry.[21]

> BONAPARTE, CHARLES Louis NAPOLEON, or NAPOLEON III., is the youngest son of Louis, the king of Holland, and Hortense, daughter of the empress Josephine, who reappears on the throne of France, from which she was expelled by Napoleon I., in the person of her grandson. He was born in Paris, April 20, 1808. The emperor and empress were his sponsors at baptism, and he was an early favorite with Napoleon. As his father and mother soon came to live separately (indeed, they had been alienated before, and it is said to have been at the imperative command of the emperor that King Louis allowed the child to be recognized as his), he was chiefly educated by his mother, who resided in Paris under the title of the queen of Holland. After the battle of Waterloo, the family retired first to Augsburg, where he learned the German language, and subsequently to Switzerland, where they passed their summers, while in winter they repaired to Rome. The principal tutor of Louis Napoleon was M. Lebas, who, being a stern republican, gave him his first but short-lived, inclinations to republican principles. For a time, however, he was at the military college of Thun, where he made some progress in the science of gunnery, but was not distinguished as a scholar. When the revolution of 1830 broke out, he petitioned Louis Philippe to be allowed to return to France, but that adroit monarch refused the request. Louis and his brother, Napoleon, then repaired

to Italy, where they took an active part in the revolutionary movements of 1831. But the interference of France and Austria in behalf of the papal authorities soon put an end to these, and the brothers were banished from the papal territory. The elder brother, Napoleon, died at Pesaro, a victim to his anxieties and fatigues, March 27 of that year, and Louis Napoleon, also prostrated by illness at Ancona, was joined by his mother, and having in vain applied for permission to enter the French army, he spent a short time in England, eventually retiring to his mother's chateau at Arenenberg, in Thurgau. The duke of Reichstadt dying in 1832, left him the successor of Napoleon I., not by legitimate descent, but by the imperial edicts of 1804 and 1805, which set aside the usual order of descent, and fixed the succession in the line of the 4th brother of Napoleon, Louis, instead of in that of the elder brother Joseph. This opened a new career to his ambition, and he seems from that time to have set his heart upon the recovery of the imperial position and honors. Nor did he leave any means untried by which he might hope to win over the French people to an approval of his lofty project. He wrote a book called *Réveries politiques*, in which he endeavored to demonstrate the necessity of an emperor to the true republican organization of France. This was subsequently expanded into a larger work, called *Idées Napoléoniennes*, wherein the policy and plans of the emperor were magnified and extolled and earnestly commended to the adoption of France.

Fukuzawa's abbreviated translation is as follows:

第三世ナポレオンは第一世ナポレオンの弟ロイス（第一世ナポレオンの時和蘭王に封ぜられたり）の末子なり。千八百八年第四月二十日パリスに生れ、幼少のとき専ら母の教育を受けり。千八百十五年ワートルローの敗後、家族に従て日耳曼のオウグスボルフに遁れ、此地にて日耳曼の語を学び、次で瑞西（すいす）に行き又伊太里に遊び、レバスに従て合衆政治の趣意を聞き頗る所得あり。千八百三十年騒乱の時に当て帰国を歎願したれども、仏蘭西王ロイス・ヒリップこれを許さず。後、英国に行き、又帰て母の旧里トルゴー（瑞西の地）に帰りしとき、遇ま第一世ナポレオンの実子レイチスタット病に罹り、死して後なし。乃ちロイス・ナポレオン

を以て其相続に定めたり。蓋しロイス・ナポレオンの大志を立て、帝家の旧物を恢復せんとするの心事は既に此時に成れり。爾後頻りに書を著述して政治の得失を論じ、第一世ナポレオンの策略を記して、其策の仏蘭西国に適当せる所以を称誉し、暗に人心を煽動せり。

The cuts in the Japanese text are of data Fukuzawa no doubt thought superfluous --Hortense, the separation of the parents, the identification of Lebas as a tutor, and so on. Despite the cuts, he maintains a coherent narrative and presents the facts in the same order as given in the text.

The Question of Authorship: Who then, were the authors of these articles? When Dana and Ripley began work on the *Cyclopaedia*, they asked their scholarly friends and acquaintances for contributions. They also asked army officers, professors, doctors, clergymen, the archbishop of Baltimore, and a former president of Harvard University. The entries do not include the authors' names. Some printings of the *Cyclopaedia*, however, provide a "List of Contributors" containing over 350 names. After each name is listed a sampling of that person's contributions.

Despite the "List," some entries cannot be identified. "John Law" and "Genghis Khan" appear on no list. Was the author of the Genghis entry Professor Alexander J. Schem, who is credited with the entry on Russia, or Hermann Raster, who wrote on China? Might it have been Charles Kraitsir, M.D., who wrote on Buddhism, or Robert Carter, who wrote on Mongolia as well as on Persia, Japan, Yeddo, Abraham Lincoln, and the Mormons? Might it have been Count Adam de Gurowski, who wrote on Attila, the Borgias, and Alexander the Great? We do not know.

The author of the passage on Russian history after 1815 was Alexander Jacob Schem, who also wrote on the Inquisition, Mohammed, and Spain. Schem was born in Westphalia, Germany in 1826, the son of a vinegar merchant. After gymnasium, he studied Catholic theology at Bonn and Tubingen, and was ordained a priest in 1849, but finding himself at odds with church dogma, he emigrated to the United States in 1851. He became a tutor in the home of a publisher, whose daughter he married, a professor of ancient and modern languages at Dickinson College, and then the foreign news editor of the *New York Tribune*

from 1860 to 1869. He also wrote articles for the *Cyclopaedia* and many other journals, including *The Methodist* and the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. The *Dictionary of American Biography* describes him as a man "of stocky build, sociable in his habits, extremely tolerant in his views, and indefatigable in his labors." He believed that "the development of learning in nineteenth century Germany was second only to that of Athens in the fifth century."[22]

"Richelieu" is given, along with "Chambord" and the "Berry Family," in the listing of entries authored by Baron Regis de Trobriand. Trobriand was born in France near Tours in 1816, the son of a baron who had served Napoleon as a general. Trobriand attended college in Tours and received a law degree from Poitiers. He was an expert swordsman and fought a number of duels. He went to the United States in 1841, was accepted into the high society of New York City, and married an heiress, the daughter of the president of Chemical Bank. During the 1850s he wrote a column for a French-language New York newspaper, and did a variety of other writings, including entries for the *Cyclopaedia*. Dana or Ripley probably knew him personally. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Trobriand became a colonel in command of the Garde de Lafayette, a unit of the New York militia composed largely of Frenchmen. He fought at Gettysburg and other key battles, and in 1864 was promoted to brigadier general. After the war, he received a commission as a colonel in the regular army and served on the western frontier in Wyoming, Utah, Dakota, and Montana. He died in New Orleans in 1897.[23]

The author of the "Bonaparte, Charles Louis Napoleon" entry was Parke Godwin. Godwin, the scion of an eminent Whig family, was born in Patterson, New Jersey in 1916. He graduated from Princeton in 1834 and trained in law but took up journalism as a calling. He married the daughter of the poet William Cullen Bryant, and became the assistant editor of the *New York Evening Post*. Viewing social reform as a moral duty, he became a Fourier socialist; in 1842 he edited the magazine *Phalanx* with Albert Brisbane, who was the leading proponent of Fourier's ideas in America. Godwin was also an early supporter of Brook Farm and a close friend of Ripley. For a time, in the late 1850s, he was a sub-editor of the *Cyclopaedia* as well as a contributor. In addition to this entry on Louis Napoleon, he also wrote on Bacon, Burke, Burns, Descartes, Druids,

Fourier, Goethe, and Voltaire. Godwin later became an anti-slavery Republican, a part owner of the *New York Evening Post*, and a friend of Abraham Lincoln. He wrote a number of books and remained a stalwart of New York literary society until his death in 1904.[24]

To return to the question of who wrote the *Seiyō jijō*, it is necessary to discern two levels of authorship. Without a doubt, Fukuzawa was the author at the most critical level. He picked suitable texts and wove them together into a coherent narrative. This required a tremendous intelligence and exertion. In the mid-nineteenth century, the cultures of the West and Japan were so different as to be strange to one another. To bridge the gap, he had to express the ideas of the one in the vocabulary of the other. Translation was not a neutral task. Like an artist producing a striking collage out of the materials at hand, Fukuzawa pieced together the histories.

But at the same time, one can say that the authors of the English texts, at one remove, were also the authors of the *Seiyō jijō*. Schem, Trobriand, and Godwin were distinct individuals, who, in some measure, brought their own experience to bear on what they wrote. Though their origins and attachments were diverse, they wrote as citizens of a nation that had thrown off colonial rule less than a century earlier. They used American sources, but they also used English, French, and German encyclopedias and other works of scholarship. Indeed, if one traces back their sources, a third, or even a fourth, tier of authorship for the *Seiyō jijō* might well be found.

Karl Marx and the *Cyclopaedia*

Background until 1848: Karl Marx was born in 1818, a year after his father, a lawyer, converted from Judaism to Protestant Christianity. (Prussia had issued an edict that Jews could not practice law.) Marx studied law at Bonn and Berlin, and took a Ph.D. in philosophy at Jena in 1842. His thesis was titled, "On the Difference between Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy." While at the university, he rejected the Christianity of his youth and converted to Hegelian philosophy, and, later, under the influence of Feuerbach, he rejected Hegel in favor of atheism and materialism. He became a socialist, worked in Paris as a journalist and editor

of socialist publications, and was soon recognized as an important revolutionary leader. In 1845, he was arrested and expelled from France on the orders of François Guizot. He moved to Brussels, where he stayed for three years, but he was arrested again for subversion and expelled. Next, as the revolutionary spirit swept across Europe in 1848, he went to Cologne, an industrial center and the third largest city in Prussia. There he published and edited a German-language newspaper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, dedicated to socialism and proletarian democracy.[25]

Cologne, 1848, Karl Marx meets Charles Dana: Dana, as noted earlier, toured Europe in 1848 to observe the progress of its revolutions. In November, while on his way to Berlin to meet with other revolutionary leaders, he stopped in Cologne to meet with Karl Marx. They spent an evening together. Marx, at age 30, was just a year older than Dana and at the height of his powers. His *Communist Manifesto* (coauthored with Friedrich Engels) had been published just a few months earlier. Dana left no record of the evening's conversation—though he would refer to it later in life—but Albert Brisbane, who accompanied Dana at the meeting, described Marx as follows:

> There I found Karl Marx, the leader in the popular movement...He was just then rising into prominence: a man of some thirty years, short, solidly built, with a fine face and bushy black hair. His expression was that of great energy, and behind his self-contained reserve of manner were visible the fire and passion of a resolute soul.[26]

The meeting, however, had consequences which bear directly on this article.

London, 1851, Dana invites Marx to write for the *New York Daily Tribune*: As the tide of revolution receded in Europe, Marx was expelled from Cologne and then from Paris. In August 1849, he sailed to England for what he expected would be a temporary exile. He remained in England as a scholar, activist, and member of its refugee German community until his death in 1889.

Marx lived in penury during his first decade in London. He tried to establish

a radical socialist newspaper but failed. He wanted to live as a journalist but few papers on the continent were willing to accept his contributions. He was active in the Communist League, but this provided no income. Marx was evicted from one lodging and moved to a cramped two-room apartment in Soho, where he lived with his wife, children, and housekeeper. While living there, three of his children died—he borrowed to buy a coffin for one—and an illegitimate son by the housekeeper was born. In 1852, he could not afford to eat meat or buy medicines, he owed money to tradesmen, and he periodically pawned his coat and household goods to pay bills. It was a miserable life for a man raised in the comfortable house of a lawyer, and for his wife, the daughter of a countess.

One source of succor was Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). Engels was the son of a wealthy textile manufacturer. He had served a year in the Prussian military. He met Marx in 1844, and they worked together in the socialist movement on the continent. In 1849, Engels entered a branch of his father's firm, Ermen and Engels, in Manchester and spent the rest of his life as a businessman in England. During the early years, while his income was low, he sent Marx a one or five or ten pound note each week. (He would cut the note in two and mail the halves in separate envelopes). Later, as he began to share in the profits of the firm, his remittances to Marx became more substantial.

Marx's second principal source of income, along with occasional legacies and gifts, was the *New York Daily Tribune*. In August 1851, Dana invited Marx to become a foreign correspondent of the paper. Marx's first article, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" (ghostwritten by Engels since Marx could not yet write English[27]), appeared in October. It began: "The first act of the revolutionary drama on the continent of Europe has closed. The 'powers that were' before the hurricane of 1848, are again the 'powers that be.'" Both Marx and Engels believed, and they shared this belief with other refugee revolutionaries in England, that a second act of revolution would soon unfold. The imminence of such a development was the premise from which he and Engels wrote more than 500 articles for the *Tribune* during the decade that followed.[28] Marx wrote one or two articles a week and received five dollars for each contribution that was published.

The relationship between editor Dana and Marx was not easy. Dana, increasingly less socialist in his convictions, admired Marx greatly but did not wholly

trust him. In the issue of the *Tribune* containing Marx's first article, Dana described him as "one of the clearest and most vigorous writers" that Germany has produced, "no matter what may be the judgment of the critical upon his social and political philosophy." He later wrote in the same vein: "Mr. Marx has indeed opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of European politics."[29] Dana occasionally omitted articles written by Marx, freely rewrote others, and cannibalized a few into editorials. His letters to Marx, however, were uniformly polite, diplomatic, appreciative, and friendly in tone.[30]

Marx, for his part, appreciated the income from the *Tribune,* but resented having to write for an American paper. In letters to Engels, he once referred to the *Tribune* as that "lousy rag," to Dana as "that ass," and to its editors, collectively, as "those bums." Also in a letter to Engels, he fulminated: "It's disgusting to be condemned to regard it as good fortune to be taken into the company of such a rag[31]." He often complained of the pay and the unwillingness of the *Tribune* to take a greater number of his offerings. Nonetheless, the *Tribune* provided the steady income that enabled Marx to conduct the research at the British Museum that resulted in his 1859 *Critique of Political Economy*, which, in turn, led to *Das Kapital*. Even when the *Tribune* cut 12 of its 14 foreign correspondents in December 1857, it kept Marx.

In 1860, Marx sued a German newspaper for publishing defamatory remarks about his lack of a German sense of patriotism. To give lie to these remarks, he solicited testimonials from prominent persons, among them, Dana. On March 8, 1860, Dana wrote Marx a long, if somewhat guarded, letter, in which he commented that Marx's "only fault" was an excessive patriotic concern for "the unity and independence of Germany." That is to say, he defended Marx against the criticism published in the German paper. His letter concluded:

> I have also at various times within the past five or six years been the medium through which contributions of yours have been furnished to *Putnam's Monthly*, a literary magazine of high character; and also to the *New American Cyclopaedia*, of which I am also an editor, and for which

> you have furnished some very important articles.[32]

London, 1857, Marx is asked to contribute to the *Cyclopaedia*: Dana's testimonial letter of 1860 mentioned the *New American Cyclopaedia*. It was no doubt the quality and passion of the many articles Marx (and Engels) had written for the *Tribune* that led Dana to ask him to contribute to this work. Dana was always on the lookout for good writing. We do not have the letter of April 6, 1857 in which Dana made the request, but in Marx's April 21 letter to Engels, Marx wrote: "Be so kind as to write by return, telling me how to reply to the enclosed letter from Dana."[33] Engels replied the next day:

> Dear Moor,
> This business of the *Cyclopaedia* has come as a real boon to me, and to you too, no doubt. *Voilà enfin*, a prospect of making good your loss of earnings and, for me, a prospect of a regular occupation in the evenings... The pay is quite profitable, even at $2 per large page; a lot of the stuff will only have to be copied or translated and the longer articles will not involve a great deal of work...In your place I would offer to do the whole encyclopaedia alone; we could manage it all right. At all events, take whatever you can get. If we have 100 to 200 pages in each volume, it won't be too much. We can easily supply that amount of 'unalloyed' erudition so long as unalloyed California gold is substituted for it.[34]

Marx responded on April 22:

> Dear Fred,
> I shall write to Dana not later than tomorrow. For me, the thing has come as a godsend, as you can imagine...For my own part, I would much prefer to supply Dana with articles on, say, Ricardo, Sismondi, etc. That sort of thing does at least admit of objective treatment from the Yankee point of view. German philosophy is difficult to write about in English. I shall suggest various things to Dana and leave the choice to him.[35]

Thus began a two-year period in which Engels or Marx, or the two together, wrote a stream of entries for the *Cyclopaedia*. A considerable portion of the weekly correspondence between Marx and Engels during 1857, 1858, and 1859 dealt with *Cyclopaedia* articles: a discussion of their content, schedules for their completion, reasons for delays, a dissection of Dana's attitudes and demands, Engels' health and its effect on his writing, and payments.[36] Marx also related the *Cyclopaedia* to his personal circumstances. On September 23, 1857, after touching on his debts, he wrote: "The main thing—and the only way to get out of my quandary—is to get on quickly with the *Cyclopaedia*. The coming of autumn also means redeeming this and that from the pawnshops."[37]

In the *Cyclopaedia's* "List of Contributors," Marx is duly listed as "Charles Marx, Ph.D., London, Eng." After his name the following articles are mentioned: "*Army, Artillery, Bernadotte, Bolivar, Cavalry, Fortification, Infantry, Navy, &c.*" But if, in fact, these articles provided Engels with a "regular occupation in the evenings," how many were actually written by Marx? From Dana's perspective, all of these were by Marx, and, accordingly, Engels' name is not given in the "List of Contributors." It was Marx who mailed the articles to New York and received drafts for payment from the editors.

Recent research has confirmed what Engels' letter would lead one to believe: of the more than 60 entries sent to Dana, 8 were by Marx, 8 were joint works, and the rest were by Engels. Of the 8 by Marx, 5 were biographies of Napoleon's generals (Bernadotte, Berthier, Bessières, Bugeaud, and Brune), one was a biography of Napoleon's secretary (Bourriene), one was on a German revolutionary (Blum), and another was on Simon Bolivar. Of the 8 joint works, 4 treated similar military figures: another general of Napoleon (Bosquet), a Prussian general (Blucher), a Polish general (Bem), and a Russian general who fought against Napoleon (Barclay de Tolly). Those by Engels were more narrowly military: "Ammunition, Army, Artillery, Attack, Bastion, Battery, Battle," and the like.[38] Dana's distrust of Marx's politics led him to assign "safe" non-political topics, though Marx would have preferred intellectual or political topics, as indicated in his letter above. All but three of the entries written by Marx and Engels fell within the first three letters of the alphabet. By the time progress on the encyclopedia reached the letter D, Dana had decided to draw on writers closer

to hand.[39]

Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2008 Looking back, we have identified several of the second tier authors of the *Seiyō jijō*. There remains only the question posed in the hypothetical university entrance examination --whether Marx (or Engels) was one of these authors. Marx was one of the authors of the *Cyclopaedia*, one of several *gensho* used by Fukuzawa. Marx's contributions to the *Cyclopaedia* were mainly on figures from the Napoleonic era, and over half of them were biographical sketches of Napoleon's marshals. In writing the history of France in *Seiyō jijō nihen*, Fukuzawa covered Napoleon's military campaigns in greater detail than he did for other topics. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that material from one or more of Marx's *Cyclopaedia* entries might be found in the *Seiyō jijō*. If such a connection could be established, it would be a lovely discovery, an extraordinary conjunction of two towering, if very different, historical figures. To the great chagrin of the author of this article, however, the answer is negative. No part of Marx's entries was used. For Fukuzawa's purposes, they were probably too detailed. In the end, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Karl Marx were like two ships that pass in the night.

Notes

1 Sources for the life of George Ripley are: Crowe, *George Ripley: Transcendentalist and Utopian Socialist*, Athens, GA, 1967; Octavius B. Frothingham, *George Ripley*, Boston, 1882; *In Memoriam, George Ripley, LL.D.*, New York Tribune Extra, No. 63. July 1880.

2 For the life of Charles Dana: Charles J. Rosebault, *When Dana was the Sun*, Freeport, NY, 1931; Candace Stone, *Dana and the Sun*, New York, 1938; Janet Steele, *The Sun Shines for All*, Syracuse, NY, 1993;

3 For Brook Farm: John V. D. Z. Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*, New York, 1912; Henry W. Sams, *Autobiography of Brook Farm*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1958; Edith R, Curtis, *A Season in Utopia*, New York, 1961.

4 The *New York Daily Tribune* was founded by Horace Greeley (1811-1872) in 1841. It changed its name to *New York Tribune* in 1867. In 1924 it merged with the *New York Herald* and became the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

5 This advertisement appeared at the back of Philip Smith, *A History of the World*, New York, 1864, another D. Appleton and Co. publication.

6 Crowe, George Ripley, 236.

[7] The scholarly debate about Fukuzawa's financial dealings goes far beyond the scope of this paper. See Nishikawa Shunsaku, "Keiō sannnen ni Amerika kara Fukuzawa Yukichi no kōnyū shite kita tosho o megutte" in *Fukuzawa Yukichi nenkan* 13, Tokyo, 1986. Professor Nishikawa argues against the interpretation of Fukui Tetsuhiro's *Ono Tomogorō no shōgai* (Chūō Shinsho 762), Tokyo, 1985.

[8] *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, --hereafter, FZS, (Tokyo 1959) 7: 138.

[9] FZS 20: 15-19.

[10] FZS 17: 41-42

[11] FZS 17: 41-42 Yamaguchi had studied Dutch together with Fukuzawa at Ogata's school in Osaka. Fukuzawa's use of *eigentum*, the Dutch word for personal property, was a friendly reminder of their shared experience.

[12] He completed the writing in 5/1870; the book was published in 10/1870.

[13] The single exception was the addition of a few lines to the passage on patents from W. T. Brande and W. T. Cox, *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*, London, 1865-67. For a detailed study of Fukuzawa's translations from the *Cyclopedia* in the *Seiyō jijō gaihen*, see Chap. 4 of my forthcoming book *Civilization and Enlightenment: the Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Harvard University Press, November 2008).

[14] FZS 1: 574; *New American Cyclopaedia*, hereafter NAC, (New York, 1861), 10: 354-355. I am not absolutely certain that this bit of information came from the *Cyclopaedia*. But the figures agree, whereas in different historical accounts they often disagree. Moreover, Fukuzawa had a very limited range of sources to draw on. Unless another source is found with the same figures, it is probably safe to assume that the *Cyclopaedia* was his source.

[15] *Lippincott's Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, 1866), 1633.

[16] NAC 8: 135.

[17] FZS 1: 526. In this instance, Fukuzawa interpolated a series of facts and a distinctive anecdote. This likelihood of finding the same sequence in another source is extremely small.

[18] NAC 14: 236

[19] FZS 1: 537-538.

[20] NAC 14: 72; FZS 1: 568-569.

[21] NAC 3: 471; FZS 1: 596.

[22] *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 8: 425-426.

[23] See the account of Trobriand in Adams, Oscar F., *Dictionary of American Authors*, Boston, 1904.

[24] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York 1935), 4: 351-352.

[25] For information on Marx's life, see: David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His life and Thought*, New York, 1973. I have also consulted: Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx, The Story of his*

Life, New York, 1935; Saul Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*, New York, 1978; Robert Payne, *Karl Marx*, New York, 1968.

[26] A. Brisbane, *A Mental Biography* (Boston, 1893) 273, as cited in McLellan, 204-5.

[27] On January 29, 1853, Marx wrote to Engels: "Yesterday I ventured for the first time to write an article in English for Dana." *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Collected Works*, hereafter MEW, (New York 1985) 39: 275.

[28] Of the 500 articles which appeared in the *Tribune*, Marx wrote about 350, some of which were translated into English by Engels. Dana's offer to Marx may have been the response to an earlier letter from Marx to Dana. In a letter to Engels of 31 July 1851, Marx wrote: "I've written to America to find out whether there's any possibility of setting up, in cooperation with Lupus, as correspondent here for a couple of dozen of journals. It is IMPOSSIBLE to go on living like this." MEW 38: 398.

[29] William H. Hale, "When Karl Marx Worked for Horace Greeley," in *American Heritage* (New York, April 1957) 20, 25.

[30] Decades later, on August 22, 1879, while visiting London, Dana called on Marx. Marx was out and Dana left his card. Hal Draper, *The Marx-Engels Chronicle* (New York, 1985), 209.

[31] Hale, 25.

[32] Hal Draper (ed.), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *Articles in the New American Cyclopaedia* (Berkeley, CA, 1969) 12.

[33] Karl Marx, MEW 40: 122. Marx and Engels, of course, wrote in German. I quote from the English edition of their correspondence.

[34] *Ibid*, 40: 122-125.

[35] *Ibid*, 40: 125-127. Their usual salutations were more conventional: "Dear Engels" and "Dear Marx."

[36] See Volumes 40-41 of MEW.

[37] MEW 40: 181.

[38] Draper, *Articles*, 16, 204-205.

[39] The three exceptions were "Fortification,' "Infantry," and "Navy," all written by Engels. Perhaps Dana requested these topics earlier, out of alphabetical order.